

Coverage of Pak-U.S. Relations on Issue of Counter Terrorism by U.S. Leading News Magazines

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Abstract: This study intends to examine the coverage of Pak-US relations on issue of counter terrorism by US leading news magazines i.e. “Newsweek” and “Time”. Basically this research attempts to present an outlook of the coverage of Pakistan and US depicted by the US press. The study conducts content analysis of “Newsweek” and “Time” magazines. Content of the both magazines, Newsweek and Time were analyzed separately for this study. The rationale behind the choosing of these magazines for this study was that these magazines had wide circulation in the world. The unit of analysis for this study was the articles related to Pak-US relation. In this study 93 article of both magazines were examined. Both of the magazines were yield different results. These results were collected differently. These results show pro- US coverage in leading US news magazines on issue of counter terrorism.

Key words: Pak-US relations • Counter Terrorism • Media Framing • Content Analysis

INTRODUCTION

The mass media provide us information about different events happened in the world, often within hours of any occurrence. Through providing rapid information of any event occurred in the globe, mass media has got attention of the policy maker to take decision of any issue depicted by mass media. Media organizations have the powerful influence in making and mould the public opinion. Print media set his agenda on the opinion pages. It frames the news issues according to their agenda. Impact of modern technologies shrunk the world as “Global Village”. In this way people come to know that what media expose to them on media. They determined their opinion on the basis of their exposure. In the global war against terrorism, media has become an important battlefield.

Pakistan is an Islamic democratic country who is facing terrorism from last many years. The dawn of the freedom of Pakistan was the implementation of the idea of Pakistan. The idea for the birth of Pakistan was “Two Nation Theory.” That was the idea that the Muslims

minority of the subcontinent should have got their own state on the basis of religion. Otherwise the Hindu majority of the subcontinent will rule on the Muslims. Islamic Republic of Pakistan was emerged on map of the world in August 14, 1947 [1].

Geographically Pakistan is situated in the South Asia. Its total area is 796096 sq km. The world’s second highest mountains peak K-2 is situated in the north of the country. In the middle rich agriculture fields watered by five rivers and in the south vast desert are placed [2]. Pak land heritage four season that are, summer, winter, autumn and spring. Islamabad is the capital city of Pakistan.

Total estimated population of Pakistan on 1st January, 2009 was, 163.76 million where male were 84.98 and female 78.78 million [3]. Ethnic groups in Pakistan: Punjabi, Sindhi, Pashtun, Baloch, Muhajir (i.e. Urdu-speaking immigrants from India and their descendants), Saraiki and Hazara. Languages mostly spoken in the Pakistan are “Urdu (national and official), English, Punjabi, Sindhi, Pashto, Baloch, Hindko, Brahui, Saraiki (Punjabi variant)”[4].

Pakistan has five neighbor countries, Afghanistan bordered by 2430 km in south, in the east India having bordered of 2912 km, Iran is situated in the west of Pakistan bordered by 909 km and in the far northeast People Republic of China is situated, While Tajikistan also lies close to Pakistan near Wakhan corridor [4].

Pakistan is situated in the heart of ancient Indus Valley Civilization. Indus Valley subjected to frequent invader as well as Alexander, the Great. But the region flourished in the kingdom of Mughal in 17th centuries. British regime has taken over the subcontinent from the 18th century. That has ended with the partition of subcontinent in 1947 [3]. Islam was the driving force behind the establishment of Pakistan. Therefore, Islam is the state religion of Pakistan. About 95% of the Pakistanis are Muslim (Sunni 75%, Shia 20%), other are includes Christian and Hindu 5% [4].

Constitutional development of Pakistan has promulgated three constitutions, in 1956, 1962 and 1973 respectively since the independence of the country. In the period of the last 63 years, 'three Martial Laws and one military Quasi have been imposed by the military ruler for more than 30 years' [5].

Secretary General of the United Nations, Ban Ki Moon once said that, "the two most dangerous countries on this planet are Pakistan and Afghanistan" [6]. Pakistan faced cruelty of terrorist where hundred people are assassinated in the suicide attacks. Pakistan armed forces are hit by terrorist in all parts of the countries. These terrorist hit the educational institutions, shopping centers and prayer houses of people having diverse ideology and faiths in Pakistan.

Problem Statement: This study explores how the image of Pakistan was portrayed by the US media after 9/11 terrorist incident and during the Afghan war against terrorism. It focuses to find out the media coverage and its agenda regarding Pak-US relation and image of Pakistan in the US Print media. As in 2009 altering of US administration indict Pakistan is not sincere on war against terrorism. US clearly insisted Pakistan "to do more" on war against terrorism. US media propagated that Pakistan is not serious on war against terror and supporting the terrorist organizations. Researcher tries to explore the phenomenon to find out the reality.

Objectives of Study

The Major Objectives of the Study Are as Follows:

- To examine the portrayal of U S press toward Pakistan regarding the war against terrorism.

- To know about the image of Pakistan by U S press in building the perception of the world about Pakistan.
- To identify the direction of image of Pak-US relations on issues of counter terrorism in the both magazines.

Limitation of the Study:

- The present study tries to focus on the articles related terrorism, counter terrorism activities and military issues of Pak-US. It does not take into account the advertisements and other sections of the magazines for the purpose of study.
- The above mentioned study covers two leading US magazines. Time and Newsweek these magazines selected due to vast readership in the globe.
- The 93 articles of both magazines from July, 2009 to December, 2009 were analyzed for the purpose of study.

Literature Review

Chronological View of Pak – US Relations: The history of Pak-US relations shows many ups and downs between the relations of two countries. Pak-US relations was initiated when Paul Alling, a US diplomat made a visit of Karachi. After soon in 1950 first Prime Minister of Pakistan visited America. That was the formal initiate of relationship between the two countries. As researcher examines the history of these relations it comes to know that relationship of US with India was balanced while Pak-US relation in the region was unbalanced [7].

Revolution of Iran and Russian's attack on Afghanistan in 1979 put Pakistan to gained more attention of the world as well as Washington. A security agreement laid down between America and Pakistan for strategic cooperation in 1959 [8]. US think tank and policy maker consider Pakistan as failed state but the incident of 9/11 again raised the geo strategic position of Pakistan. Hashmi [9] explains, "The growing consensus among American policymakers and lawmakers was that Pakistan was not only losing its strategic importance to the United States; it was also becoming an unreliable failed state. That perception was partly transformed after September 11, when Pakistan became a critical theater in the U.S. effort to take the fight to the terrorists."

Pak-US relations in the period of 2001 to the beginning of 2009 have mostly been suspicious. In the cold war era, Pakistan provided full cooperation and assistance to US and the Western world. Pakistan supported the western promoted Jihad against Russian invasion in Afghanistan. This support of Jihad affected the society of Pakistan very badly.

It is the reality that policies of US are altered according to its national interest. Its ally of some decades may be its foe in the next year and compensation of their sacrifice will not entertain. As Kissinger pointed out that; in international politics “there are neither permanent friends nor permanent foes of a state” (cited in Khan, [7]).

The relations with US on war against terrorism resulted Pakistan unstable and internal terrorism. Historical view of Pak-US relation present the diversity in the relations between two countries. As Hashmi [9] said that, “Osama Bin Laden with his organization Al Qaeda was suspected to have their base in Afghanistan and Taliban government was their supporter. Due to the geographical proximity of Pakistan with Afghanistan and a day before 9/11 Pakistan was staunch supporter of Taliban. It was observed that Pakistan had to face some difficult days ahead. After the stunning attacks of September 11, 2001 US started to contour his new strategy to counter the situation. President G.W Bush declared the “struggle between good versus evil.”

It is conclude that mutual relations between US and Pakistan are grounded on convergence of common interests periodically. In the cold war Pakistan was an important country for US and after that it turned off his policies and after 9/11 once again Pakistan has importance for america.US support military dictator for his national interest not for Pakistan prosperity.

Foreign Policies of Us Toward Pakistan: Pakistan and America experience very close relations from the last 60 years. These relations bound the interests of both countries. US policies toward Pakistan are altering according to the international state of affairs. Historically US support the military rulers for its national interest and also appreciate to the struggle for democracy. Geo-strategic position of Pakistan enhances the importance of Pakistan for West and America. With countering terrorism and Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan it is not possible to US to fight with them without the help of Pakistan. Incident of 9/11, made an opportunity for President Bush to eradicate the global terrorism from the world. Pakistan was placed strategically very important state offense against terrorism to al-Qaeda in Bush agenda. US policies had many interest in Pakistan. This covered wide range of issues including nuclear program of Pakistan, war against terrorism and missile proliferation. The other concerns of US policies are human rights, democracy, economic reforms and counter to narcotics trafficking.

In Musharraf regime US started aid to Pakistan. Kronstadt [10] note as, “Direct assistance programs include aid for health, education, food, democracy promotion, child labor elimination, counter-narcotics, border security and law enforcement, as well as trade preference benefits. The United States also supports grant, loan and debt rescheduling programs for Pakistan by the various major international financial institutions.”

Secretary Clinton [11] said, “If Pakistan becomes more financially unstable, it increases the danger that we will face from the threat by the extremists to the Pakistan Government”. There are several reasons behind the stability of Pakistan, for the US foreign policy interest. Martin and Kronstadt [12] defined it as:

- *“There is an opportunity for the United States to demonstrate its support for Pakistan by providing a portion of the \$2 billion - \$7 billion Pakistan will likely still need to cover its capital shortfall. Others think that the United States should condition additional aid on Pakistan increasing its commitment to combat Islamist militancy along its border with Afghanistan.”*

Bark Obama addressed to ‘Meet the Press’ [13] that, “...we need a strategic partnership with all the parties in the region--Pakistan and India and the Afghan government--to stamp out the kind of militant, violent, terrorist extremists that have set up base camps and that are operating in ways that threaten the security of everybody in the international community. And, as I've said before, we can't continue to look at Afghanistan in isolation.”

Bark Obama administration once take an overview to its policies toward Pakistan and war against terrorism. US publically announced that Pakistan failed to deal with terrorist. Pakistan is also going to in a destructive stride faced from terrorist. Kfir [14] noted that “The terrorists within Pakistan's borders are not simply enemies of America or Afghanistan--they are a grave and urgent danger to the people of Pakistan. Al Qaeda and other violent extremists have killed several thousand Pakistanis since 9/11. They have killed many Pakistani soldiers and police. They assassinated Benazir Bhutto. They have blown up buildings, derailed foreign investment and threatened the stability of the state. Make no mistake: al Qaeda and its extremist allies are a cancer that risks killing Pakistan from within.”

The other significant decision of US is the stability of democracy and political system in Pakistan. Economic development and the social sector reforms can reduce the activity of terrorist. Obama administration pointed that, "by improving the political situation--a codeword for democracy promotion--Pakistan could successfully deal with its internal and external terrorist problem" [14]. In 2009, Kerry Lugar bill introduced which is a new step of US policies toward Pakistan. This Act emphasized on the failing situation in Pakistan. It shows the endless commitment of the US to Pakistan. This bill provides a large amount financial aid to meet the new tide of terrorism in the country [14].

Incident of 9/11 and Pakistan: The terrorist attacks on World Trade Centre have spectator that these incidents extremely affected Pakistan's national solidity and economic condition. After the attacks of 9/11 once again Pakistan has become the front-line state in the war against terrorism. U.S. willing to raid on Afghanistan but Afghanistan was a landlocked country so US required airspaces and air bases for logistics support form neighbour countries. US started talk with Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan for support but its first priority was to Pakistan's support for invasion. Because most of the US supplies on ships route was possible through the Indian Ocean. Pakistan was a viable ally for America for assault. In the war against terrorism Washington asked Pakistan to decide in the 24 hour, whether "it would be on America's side or not" [15]. Collins [16] explain it that US administration,

- *"Us made it clear to Pakistan that it wanted intelligence support, the use of Pakistan's airspace and logistical support. Although the U.S. never directly threatened the use of force, U.S. officials threatened to add Pakistan to a State Department list of seven terrorist-sponsoring nations which would portend the possibility of U.S. force. According to one high-ranking official at U.S. Embassy in Islamabad, President Musharraf was told to either abandon support of Taliban or be prepared to be treated like the Taliban".*

Next day on September 13, 2001, President General Pervaiz Musharraf showed green signal to US, to joining international coalition against terrorism [17]. On September 19, 2001, after the higher official meeting President of Pakistan General Pervaiz Musharraf addressed the nation on television and clarified;

- *"We in Pakistan are facing a very critical situation as critical as the events in 1971. If we make the wrong decisions our vital interests will be harmed, our critical concerns are our sovereignty, second our economy, third our strategic assets, (nuclear, missiles) and fourth our Kashmir cause. All four will be harmed. If we make these decisions they must be according to Islam. It is not the question of bravery or cowardice. But bravery without thinking is stupidity. We have to save our interests. Pakistan comes first everything else is secondary."*

Pakistan has cooperated with US through providing logistics facilities, capturing al-Qaida suspects and sharing of intelligence. Pakistan has closed up its western border. It also grants two naval bases and three air force basis to US military (9/11 Commission Report). United States has granted Pakistan equaling \$1 billion and exempt \$ 1 billion in debt. In 2003, United States also announced a five year aid package of \$3 billion for Pakistan. US provided \$2.63 billion direct aid between 2002 and 2005 [18]. Moreover both countries signed an agreement on trade and investment.

According to Baloch [19] an arms-sale package is also approved by the United States, "Package that includes purchase of P3C Orion aircraft, surveillance radars, helicopters and radio communication system in order to improve Pakistan capacity to support U.S led forces in War on Terrorism. Besides, offering F-16 fighter jets to refurbish its Air Force, Pakistan has been declared to be a major non- NATO ally of the United States."

US assistance to Pakistan has not focus on strengthen Pakistan's internal stability. Its primary objective was to achieve a specific goal in counter terrorism in the country western border and in Afghanistan. It was a political stipulated assistance and a reward of Mushraf's regime cooperation to US on counter terrorism. The 9/11 commissioner's figure out that U.S. assistance had not moved sufficiently beyond in this security assistance to include significant funding for education efforts.

Cohen, [20] explain it as, "In this way, very little is unique about the current U.S.-Pakistani relationship. It is history repeating itself, resembling the relationship in the 1980s when the United States established a quid pro quo with General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq to help fight the Soviets. Any efforts by U.S. officials to alter the terms of the arrangements to focus on internal reforms would prompt Zia's reply, "Sir, what you are proposing is 11 neither part of the quid nor the quo."^[28] A senior level

Triparties Commission is established among Pakistan, Afghanistan and NATO. Through that military supply and training on how to use US weapons against terrorist is shared.

Drone Attacks Inside Pakistan: Drone attacks inside the Pakistan badly impede the war against terrorism. Actually these attacks killed civilians more than targeted Taliban. These civilian's casualties increase the insurgency in the tribal areas. Under US administration these attacks were called a part of war against terrorism. These attacks were started under the Bush administration and have continued under the Barack Obama presidency. The Washington post reported on October 4, 2008 that Pakistan government has a secret deal with US to permitting Drone attacks. But Pakistan foreign minister Shah Mehmood Qureshi denied it. Obama government secretly permitted CIA to carry out more drone attacks in Pakistan.

Drone attacks have been initiated to target the Al-Qaeda. Los Angeles Time reported it as, "the CIA received secret permission to attack a wide range of target, including militant whose name are not known" [21]. According to Abbot [22] that Pakistan "residents interviewed by the Associated Press in Pakistan's North Waziristan tribal area, the site of a majority of the strikes since the program began in 2004, said they believe almost all of the victims are innocent civilians." Wikipedia [23] explained it that there were 339 attacks from 2004 to October, 2012 and 3375 deaths where majority of civilians deaths recorded.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

This study examined the coverage of Pak-US relations on issue of counter terrorism by U.S. leading news magazines. The universe of the study is leading news magazines of US. These two magazines Newsweek and Time were selected for study. The said magazines were selected because of wide circulation in the world. The study will contain 93 articles of both magazines in the time period of 1st July, 2009 to 31st December, 2009. A qualitative research approach was adopted for the purpose of study using the content analysis method. The Unit of analysis was article related to Pakistan of the both magazines.

Research Design

The Study Conducted Following Steps:

- Measuring the coverage of article related to Pakistan published in both magazines.

- Identified the coverage devoted in each magazine Pro-Pakistan, Pro-US and neutral.
- Calculating the ratio of coverage devoted in each of these magazines and an average for the total period of study.
- Analyzing and comparing the results from the study.

Content Analysis: In this study both qualitative and quantitative methods of content analysis have been adopted for best interpretation of the results. Bruke and Christensen [24] describe it as, "it is widely recognized that a combination of quantitative and qualitative techniques tend to provide the best blend of systematic and replicable data with context and insight". Weber [25] defined content analysis that "content analysis is a research method that uses a set of procedures to make valid inferences from text" (p.9). It is described that content analysis is a technique of gathering and analyzing the content of text. Content refers to word, meaning, picture, symbols, ideas, theme or any message that can be communicated. The text is anything written, visual or spoken that serves as a medium for communication. This study focused on the content of US leading news magazines to find out Pak-US relation on issue of counter terrorism.

Formation of Categories: The spirit of any content analysis is categories of analysis. It can be defined as, "a category is a set of criteria, which are integrated round a theme or value" [26]. Following categories were constructed to find out appropriate outcome from the study.

- Article based on US policy toward Pakistan on war against terror
- Article related military operations strategy against terrorist and Al-Qaida
- Article related Economic aid and Social Development

Slant of Contents

- Pro-Pakistan
- Pro-US
- Neutral (0)

Framing of the Contents: Every paragraph of the editorial, column and letter to editor was coded in term of slant paragraph which point out three directions of the categories. These directions are labeled as pro-US or Anti-Pakistan, pro-Pakistan or Anti-US and neutral. The contents that framing US positively, argue against

role of Pakistan in counter terrorism activities were slant as Pro-US. Paragraphs' presenting war on terror negatively, criticize on US Policies, support policies of Pakistan's government were slant as Pro-Pakistan. The other which not favors US or Taliban were slant as neutral.

RESULTS

Results of the study are based on qualitative and quantitative findings. Articles related to Pak-US relations on issue of counter terrorism were analyzed to find out coverage of both magazines. In selected time period 93 articles were published in both magazines as 45 articles were published in The Times and 48 in The Newsweek. According to the categories 43(46%) articles were published in Category A, in Category B 32 (35%) and in category C 18 (19%) articles. These three Categories express the overall direction and coverage of both magazines that is, Pro-Pak 25(26.8%), Pro- US 47(50.6%) and Neutral 21(22.6%).

In first category 43(46%) articles were published in the study period. There were 20 articles published in Time and 23 articles in Newsweek in the category A. The slant of the issues illustrate 13 (30%) articles were Pro-Pakistan, 21 (49%) were Pro-US while 9 (21%) were Neutral as showed in (Table 1). The policies of both magazines showed parallel stance.

Findings of the study regarding category (A) article related to US policy toward Pakistan on war against terror present pro-US coverage. As US administration announced and media framed that Pakistan is a safe haven for terrorist. In this category as showed in Fig. (1) Newsweek magazine has depicted more coverage than Time. This policy has appeared same when cover pro-Pak coverage.

In second category (B) 32(35%) articles were published in the study period. There were 15 articles published in Time and 17 articles in Newsweek in the B category. The slant of the issues illustrate 7 (22%) articles were Pro-Pakistan, 16 (50%) were Pro-US while 9 (28%) were Neutral as showed in (Table 2). The policies of both magazines regarding military operations against terrorist and Al-Qaida showed a slight difference in stance.

The result regarding category (B) article related to military operations against terrorist and Al-Qaida present pro-US coverage. In this category US media ignore the sacrifices of Pakistan military and people which suffering terrorism. In this category as showed in Fig. 2 Newsweek magazine depict more coverage than time framing Pro-US coverage.

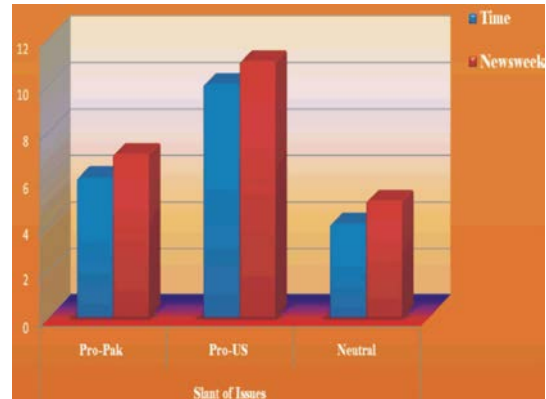


Fig. 1

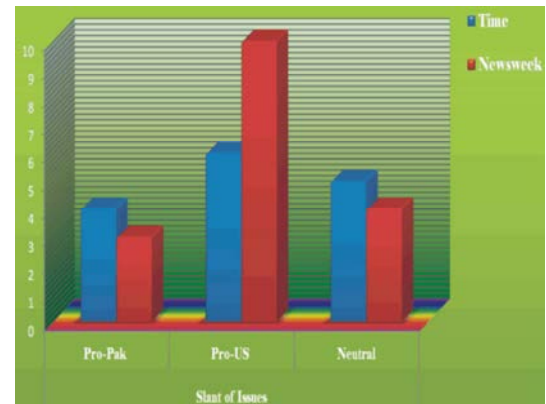


Fig. 2

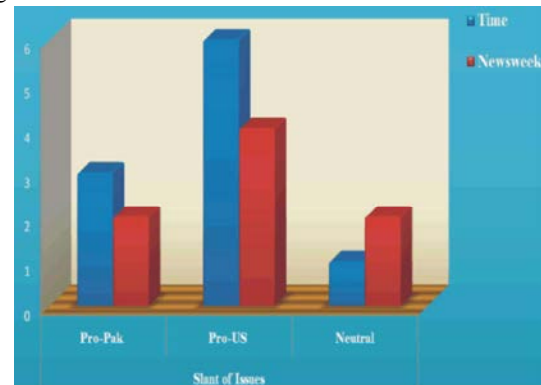


Fig. 3

Table 1: (Cat. A) Article related to US policy toward Pakistan on war against terror

Magazines	Total Articles	Category (A)	Slant of Issues		
			Pro-Pak	Pro-US	Neutral
Time	45	20	6	10	4
Newsweek	48	23	7	11	5
Total	93	43 (46.3%)	13 (30%)	21 (49%)	9 (21%)

Table 2: (Cat. B)Article related to military operations against terrorist and Al-Qaida

Magazines	Issue Related Counter		Slant of Issues		
	Terrorism	Category (B)	Pro-Pak	Pro-US	Neutral
Time	45	15	4	6	5
Newsweek	48	17	3	10	4
Total	93	32 (35%)	7 (22%)	16 (50%)	9 (28%)

Table 3: Article related to Economic aid and Social Development

Magazines	Issue Related Counter		Slant of Issues		
	Terrorism	Category (B)	Pro-Pak	Pro-US	Neutral
Time	3	6	1		
Newsweek	48	8	2	4	2
Total	93	18 (20%)	5 (28%)	10 (55%)	3 (17%)

In third category (C) 18(20%) articles were published in the study period. There were 10 articles published in Time and 8 articles in Newsweek in the C category. The slant of the issues illustrate 5 (28%) articles were Pro-Pakistan, 10 (55%) were Pro-US while 3 (17%) were Neutral as showed in (Table 2). The policies of both magazines regarding economic aid and social development were depicted a slight variation in stance.

Findings regarding category (C) article related to economic aid and social development present pro-US coverage as US financial aids and policies about Pakistan social and economic development. In this category as showed in Fig. 3 Time magazine depict more coverage than Newsweek. The policies are not appeared same when covering pro-Pak coverage.

When researcher evaluated the categories of the content it is observed that in the first category slant of the both magazine had showed same ratio of coverage on issue of policies of war against terrorism. But in category B both magazines depict diverse coverage on issue of military operations against terrorist and Al-Qaida. In category (C) coverage of Newsweek present decline in Pro-US coverage.

CONCLUSION

Pak-US relation faced many ups and down with the passage of time. Historically it is authenticated that Pakistan has joined many agreements with US government but consequently both countries cast down. After the incident of 9/11 Pakistan joined US war against terrorism. Pakistan tries its best on its end to sustain the

counter terrorism activities and cooperation with US on terrorism issues. Pakistan army has launched military operations on its homeland against suspected terrorist on US demand. Pakistan successfully achieved the goal to eradicate the terrorist in its tribal areas. As NATO forces failed to control on insurgency and bomb blasts in Afghanistan. The findings are also in line with the arguments of several other authors [27-29] that the U.S. media tend to portray positively those countries that are vital to the interests of the United States even when they represent non-democratic regimes. In this study US media propagate that Pakistan is safe haven and promoting terrorism activities in region. Results of both magazines concluded US media coverage toward US instead of Pakistan on issue of counter terrorism.

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